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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM:

Chief, FI/SP

NO.

JX-5488

DATE

23 March 1954

TO	ROOM NO	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
		REC'D	FWD'D		
1. C/WH	1-25 Attn. I	24 Mar '54		[]	By Hand
2. [] Estortine		26 March 26		[]	
3. []		MAR 26 1954	MAR 26 1954	[]	
4. []		26 Mar 26		[]	
5.					
6.					
7. PB Success file					labor file
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CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
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2003

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MEMORANDUM FOR: ~~Assistant~~ ^{WH} Director, Current Intelligence
SUBJECT : Political and Labor Situation in Guatemala
REFERENCE : OCI Evaluation dated 17 February 1954 of
JX-5272, paragraph 4.

The following is source's reply to the questionnaire provided in the reference:

a. The incipient conflict between the CGTG and the CNCG. This conflict is logical and has already begun. The CGTG is completely controlled by the CP; the CNCG is said not to have one open CP member on its executive committee. It is controlled by the PAR Party which in recent months has been the most nearly critical of the Communists of any of the Government parties. The PAR has accused the National Agrarian Department (DAN) of showing partiality towards the Communist Party and the CGTG.

On other grounds, too, the conflict seems logical. The CGTG is a wage and salaried workers organization. The CNCG in contrast is an organization of small peasants. Increasingly it is coming to be composed of peasants who have been given land under the agrarian reform. It is to be presumed that the peasants who get land - even only to use title to the land - under the agrarian reform will be anxious to keep their land. However, the Communists are certainly going to push for collectivization as soon as they feel they are politically able to do so. They frankly regard the present situation as a half-way measure. In discussions with me, they told me different things about their ultimate aims. However, the less cautious frankly admitted that collectivization was the next step.

Collectivization is not going to sit well with the peasants. Any hint of it openly from the Communist quarters can be expected to bring about a violent reaction from them. It seems logical that the CNCG, if it remains under the present leadership is likely to be the spokesman for this reaction. The CNCG leaders consider themselves as the spokesman for the peasants, and they are in favor of a small landholders type of agriculture, or at least many of them are. So they will be likely to oppose Communist attempts to collectivize agriculture.

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This is all speculative at the present moment, naturally, since the CP has not come out publicly for collectivization. But even party differences have strained the relations between the CP and the CNCG leaders. In the long talk with [] which I had in January, I got the distinct impression that he was unhappy with the CP. He might not say this publicly, but he said it when we were talking privately with no one else to hear.

b. So far there are no attempts to take over the CNCG. The Communists are not allowing their local unions of peasants which have been organized heretofore in the CGTG to enter the CNCG when they can help it. They should logically do so, since the CNCG is the organization of land-holders, not the CGTG, which is supposedly made up of wage and salary earners. This would indicate that at the moment they are not trying to "colonize" the CNCG. Apparently it's well in the hands of the PAR. If an open clash should come between the CNCG leaders and the CP, the CP would use its influence to have [] and others removed, and if necessary, given the treatment which the UNTL people got. With the CNCG leaders that kind of treatment would be a bit more difficult, since they have quite deeper roots among the economic and political organizations there in Guatemala.

c. I suspect that the deportation of the UNTL leaders spells the death of that organization for the time being at least. The four men deported were the heart and soul of the organization. They had a hard enough time bringing together the strings of their organization when they were in Guatemala. It will be virtually impossible now, I suspect.

d. The anti-Communists in the SAMF are effective within the organization, but the present political situation does not permit the leadership to come out frankly against the Communists - which means virtually against Arbenz, as things stand - and the political situation will also probably prevent the 100 percent anti-Communists, who are the minority at the present moment, from gaining complete control of the organization. I suspect the government will use all of its influence - and force, if necessary - to prevent the latter event from occurring.

e. I knew of anti-Communist activities in the Incatecu union, the Pan American Airways union, and the Coban miners union only from what other people told me.

f. Apparently the workers in Puerto Barrios who wanted to join the UNTL were a mixed lot, but most of them would be railroad and

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dock workers, since that is about all the economic activities there are there. According to [] a large part of them were railroaders. Any "joining" they would have done would probably have been in the form of organization within the SAMF, using the UNTL central organization to strengthen insofar as possible in their fight against pro-Communist and neutral elements in the SAMF.

g. The UFC plantation unions are split. Officially, the union which controls the Tiquisate plantation is in the CGTG, but I was informed that important local parts of it in various sections of the plantation, had withdrawn in protest against continued affiliation with CGTG. They are adrift now without the UNTL or any other group to aid them.

JAMES ANGLETON
Chief, Special Projects Staff